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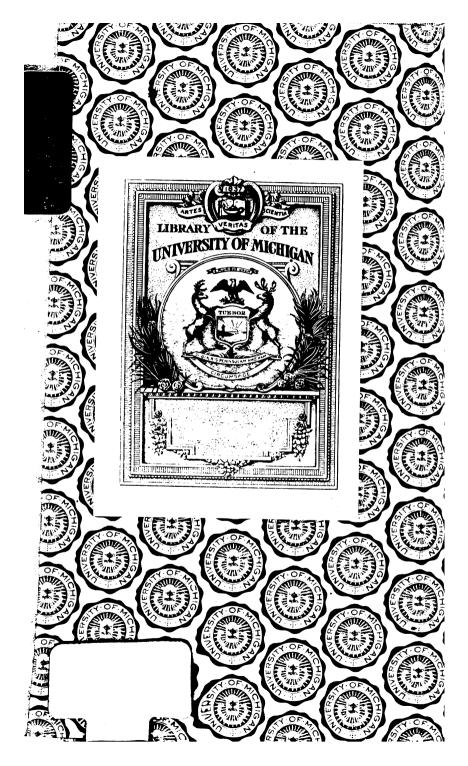
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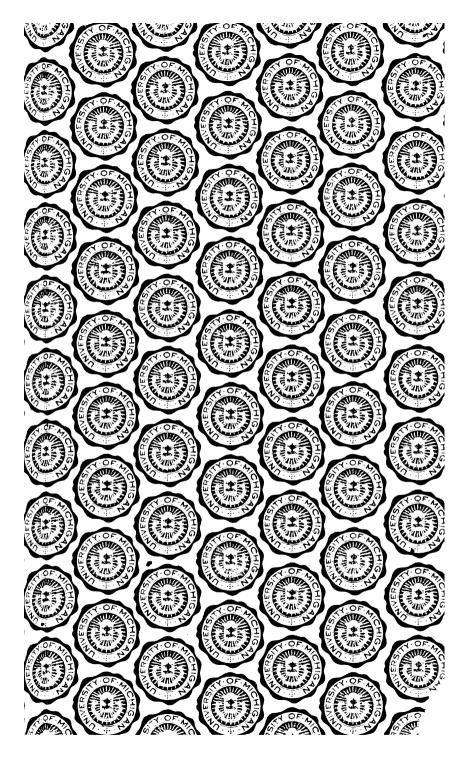
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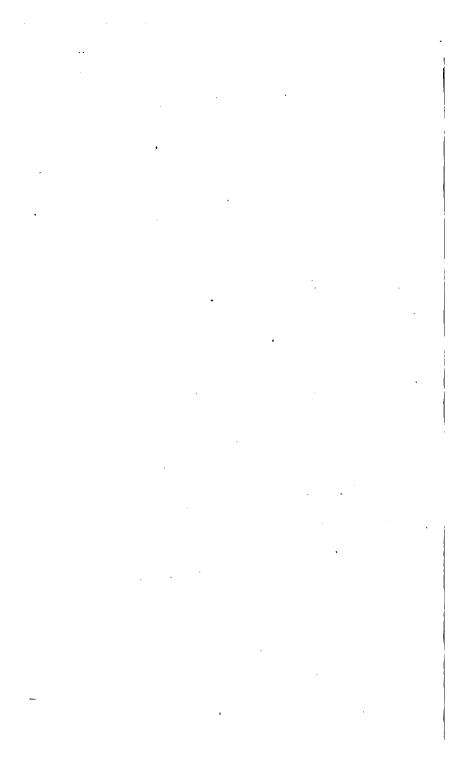
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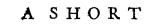




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Bath, William Pulteney, earl of, 1684-1764. OF THE

State of AFFAIRS,

With RELATION 'to

GREAT BRITAIN,

F O R

Four Tears past;

WITH SOME

REMARKS

The TREATY lately Published and a Pamphlet intitled, OBSERVATIONS upon it.

LONDÔN

Printed for R. FRANCKLIN, in Ruffel-ftreet, Covent-Gardent

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VIEW SHORT

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State of AFFAIRS.

With Relation to

Great Britain. &c.



22-1-01

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Pamphlet having been lately published; by Mr. Buckley, intitled, A Treaty of Peace, Union, Friendship and mutual Defence between the Crowns of Great Britain, France and Spain, &c. it cannot be improper nor unfeafonable to take a fhort View of the State of Affairs, with Relation to Great Britain, for fome Years paft, and the Prospect, which this Treaty gives us for the Time to come:

In the Year 1724, his late Majesty was pleased to affure us, from the Throne, that We had Peace with ALL POWERS Abroad; and we were, in particular, fo far from having any Contests or Difputes with the Emperor and the King of Spain, as to' all outward Appearance at that Time, that We were made Mediators between them, at the Congress. A 2

of Cambray, in Conjunction with France; but immediately after this, the Face of Affairs was intirely changed, by the Conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna; which gave our Ministers fuch dreadful Apprehentions of fome secret Designs against the Interest of Great Britain, that it induced them to project a Counter Alliance, called the Hanover Treaty, to oppose the Machinations of these new Allies and prevent the Execution of their Schemes.

The fecret Motives to this fudden, unaccountable and formidable Union (as it was stilled in the Enquiry) between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid was canvaffed very largely, last Winter, by the Gentlemen concerned in the Craftfman and his Opponents; and I think it was demonstratively proved, by the former, that the fending back the Infanta was the immediate Caufe, with Relation to France, which threw the King of Spain into the Arms of the Emperor; and that our Repufal to accept of the fole Mediation, upon this Occurrence, out of Complaifance to our good Allies the French, was one acceffory Caufe of it; as another might be our Refufal to deliver up the Fortrefs of Gibraltar into the Hands of the Spaniards, in Purfuance of a politive Engagement, as they pretended, and a Promise, founded on a LETTER from his late Majefty to the King of Spain; which hath been fince fully explained to the World.

The Emperor might likewife have fome private Reafons for accepting this Offer from Spain, befides those advantageous Terms, which were propofed to Him, and have been fo much exaggerated.

But whatever might be the forcet Springs of this Allyance, the open and profess'd Motives to the Project of the Treaty of Hanover, were the fecret Articles, which the Treaty of Vienna was faid to contain; and these indeed were the only reasonable and justifiable justifipble Motives, which could engage our Minifers in it; for a meer Union between the Emperor and Spain was not, of itfelf, of fo formidable a Nature, as it hath been reprefented. They might have concluded a Treaty of Peace, or Commerce or mutual Defence, as all Nations have a Right to do, without giving any reasonable Ground of Resentment or Apprehension. Nay We might have fafely acceded to fuck a Treaty, as We were invited to do. But it was the fecret, offenfive Treaty, which raifed our Indignation, alarmed our Fears, and put us upon our Guard. For this Reafon the Author of the Enquiry employ'd all his Strength to prove that there really was fuch a *fecret Treaty*; and He feem'd to be as politive as if He had been prefent at the figning of it, that the following Articles were contain'd in it, viz. 1/2, That the King of Spain had entered into an Engagement to support his Imperial Majefly by Force of Arms, in carrying on a Trade from Oftend to the East-Indies, in Violation of Treaties, as it was alledged; and had given him greater Privileges of Trade in the West-Indies than to the English. 2dly, That his Imperial Majefiy had taken a like Engagement to affift the King of Spain in endeavouring to wreft Gibraltar out of our Hands. 3 dly, That they had Both jointly engaged to make an Attempt in Favour of the Preteinder, and to fet Him upon the Throne of Great Britain. 4thly, That a Marriage was agreed upon between the Infant Don Carlos and the eldest Curoline Arch-Dutche/s, which threaten'd Europe with universal Monarchy.

These were the fecret Engagements, which gave Occasion to the Treaty of Hanover, and upon which the Expediency of it and the Conduct of our Ministers hath been justified both within Doers and without.

Indeed

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Indeed this fecret, offenfrue Treaty and the Articles, supposed to be contained in it, were immediately and very ftrenuoufly denied by the contracting Parties in the Treaty of Vienna; particularly That of endeavouring to fet the Pretender on the Britilb Throne ; which the Emperor ordered his Minister to declare, upon his Imperial Word, to be intirely without Foundation; but the Emperor is a Papift, as the Author of the Enquiry very justly observed; and therefore his Word could not be of equal Validity with the learned Arguments of a good, Protefant Writer, or the folemn Affeveration of a Protefant Minister. I speak this with all due Deference to our French Allies: who, though Papifis in Principle, have been found to be thoroughly Protestant in their Practices.

It must be confessed likewife that whatever might be the Engagements of this fecret, offenfive Treaty, (which was never yet brought to Light) there does not feem to be the least Proof (I mean, belides the Arguments and Affeverations before-mentioned) that the Emperer gave his Catholick Majefty any Affiftance, during the Siege of Gibraltar; or that his Catholick Majefy, on the other Hand, supported the Emperer in his Project for carrying on a Trade from Oftend; or gave Him any Privileges of Commerce in the West-Indies, superiour to what had been granted to the English; or that there ever was any Defign of a Marriage between Don Carlos and the eldest Archdutchess of Austria-But these are Postulata, which We are obliged and every good Englifeman will be ready to grant for the Juffification of thefe seife and fleady Meafures, which our Minifters have fo glorioufly purfued, for feveral Years paft.

Great Pains have been taken on both Sides to throw the Occation of our late unhappy Diffurbances upon each other. The claudefine Mauner, in¹ in which the Defensive Treaty of Vienna was carried on, without communicating it to the Court of Great Britain, was made a principal Argument, in the Enquiry, that there must be a fecret, offensive Treaty. On the other Hand, the Imperialists have endeavoured to throw the Odium back upon us; and alledg'd, in their Excuse for this private Way of Treating, that We gave the first Umbrage and set them an Example for it, by concluding a private Treaty at Madrid, whilst We were under the Circumstances of Mediators between that Court and Vienna—But This also is a very nice and curious Question, which I shall not take upon me to determine.

Without enquiring therefore any farther into the Grounds and Reafons of these two great Alliances, let us confider what have been the Confequences of them; and here I think, there can be no Room for Dispute; since whatever might be the Motives to the Treaty of Vienna or the fecret Designs of it, the Conclusion of a Treaty with France, in opposition to it, was certainly the Occasion of widening our Differences with Spain and engaged us in those Measures (both Hostile and Pacifick) which have been fince taken.

Three large Squadrons of Ships of War were immediately equipp'd, at a vaft Expence, and fent into the Baltick, the Mediterranean and the Weft Indies. The Commander of the laft had ever memorable Orders to lie before Portobello, and block up the Galleons which were then coming Home, and even to use Perfuafive Force, in order to possible himfelf not only of Them, but likewise of the Flotilla, which lay at la Vera Cruz, fome thousand Miles off; but the Spaniards not being fo complaisant as to put themselves in his Power, He continued upon

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upon that unwholefome Station 'till his Ships were almost deftroy'd by the WORM, his Provisions spent and his Men perish'd, by Thoufands, in the most miserable Manner. Nor was This all. The King of Spain looked upon this Procedure as an Act of Heftility and referred it accordingly, by laying a vigorous Siege to Gibraltar; and it hath been made a Doubt whether our Allies did not view it in the fame Light; for though it was stipulated, in the Treaty of Hanover, that the contracting Parties should affift and support each other, in Cafe their Dominions were attack'd; though We had frequent Assurances given us, by a certain Gentleman, that the French would make the Siege of Gibraltar a Calus Federis, and were ready to march a large Army into Rouffillon, to divert that Defign or oblige the Spaniards to raile it; yet, I fay, nothing of all this was done. The Siege continued feveral Months; and as the Emperor did not affift the King of Spain, in carrying it on, as the Author of the Enquiry told us he had engaged to do; fo neither did the Court of France move a Man to our Affistance in the Defence of it, as one of the Patrons of the Enquiry affured us they would; but they observed an exact Neutrality, at most, and fat unconcern'd Spectators of our Danger and Expence.

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I cannot forbear observing, in this Place, that though these extraordinary, naval Armaments and Expeditions were look'd upon as Hostilities by the Spaniards and produced a Return of Hostilities upon Us; yet they did not answer the End, which farther Hostilities would very probably have done; and at the fame Time gave our Allies an Opportunity of witholding their Assessment, by opening a Dispute whether we were not the Agressions; Aggreffors; for in that Cafe, they were not obliged to affift us, by Virtue of an Alliance, which was Defensive only. Thus we had the Misfortune to do enough to provoke the Spaniards to Hostilities, but not enough to bring them to a Compliance with our Terms.

Our Land Forces were confiderably augmented upon the fame Account. Our Taxes were of Confequence increased; and our National Debts were to far from being reduced in such a Degree, as they might otherwise have been, that instead of discharging a great Part of them which we could have done, we have been incurring a large Debt, which we need not have done.

In the mean Time, our Trade decay'd in every Part of it, and dwindled away almost to nothing in some of its most beneficial Branches, our *Munufactures* declin'd, and our Merchants suftained insupportable Losses; their Ships being taken without Number in the West-Indies, the Ocean and even in our own Channel, having no Convoys to guard them, and no Letters of Reprizal granted to make themselves Satisfaction.

At length, Preliminaries were agreed upon for a general Pacification; which were figned at Paris, on the 20th-31ft of May, 1727, by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty,his Britannick Majesty, the most Christian King and the States General; and on the 2d-13th of the next Month they were fign'd at Vienna by the Minister of his Catholick Majesty; that is, above Two Years and an half ago.

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By this Convention it was flipulated that within the Space of four Months after these Articles were figned, a Congress should be open'd, in which all the Rights and Pretensions of the contracting Powers should be examin'd, discuss'd and determin'd; and that the several Powers should earness in any the transformation of the congress.

But the Preliminaries were no fooner figned, than new Difficulties and Disputes were started concerning the Meaning of them; particularly with regard to These Articles, which affected Great Britain; fuch as the raifing the Siege of Gibraltar and releating the Ship Prince Frederick, as well as the other Ships taken by the Spaniards. His Cathelick Majefty inlifted that a meer Superfion of Arms, stipulated by the Preliminaries, did not imply an actual Raifing of the Siege; and that the Restitution of the Ship Prince Frederick was not mentioned or included in them; whereas we demanded both, by Virtue of those Articles. The Court of Spain infifted likewife on an Indulto of 20 per Cent upon the Effects of private Perfons, embark'd in the Flotilla, contrary to the 5th Preliminary Article, as it was alledged on our Part.

After these new Disputes had been agitated, with great Warmth, for several Months, they were adjusted by another Convention, negotiated by the Count de Rottembourg, Minister of France at the Court of Spain and sign'd at the Parde on,

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on March the 6th, 1728. By this Convention the Præliminaries were new model'd and it was again agreed that all the respective Pretensions on each Side should be produced, debated and decided in the Congress. Upon this the King of Spain agreed to the Ratification of the Præliminaries; but this was no source done than still other fresh Difficulties arose, concerning the Orders, which were agreed on both Sides, to be sent to the West Indics, in Pursuance of this Act of Ratification; but at length these Difficulties were likewise got over, for the Present, and the Congress was open'd at Soisson the 3d-14th of June 1728, above eight Months after the Time that was stipulated by the Præliminaries.

It is neceffary to observe here again that, during all these Negotiations, We had no Minister at the Court of Spain, but depended on the good Offices of *M. Vandermeer* and the Count de Rottembourg, who managed all our Affairs; and I have been told that one of them did not act his Part intircly to our Satisfaction.

However, this Point of the Congress being at last obtained, after a tectious Course of Negotiation and Sollicitation, attended with various Schemes, Projects and Conventions, We had the strongest Assurances given us that our Affairs would be now brought to a speedy and bappy Accommodation; that our Trade would be secured, for the suture, on a strm and solid Foundation; that our unfortunate; suffering Merchants would receive ample Satisfaction for all their pass Losses, which had given us so much Uncasiness, would not be so much as men-B 2

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tioned in the Congress — But what was the Event? The Plenipetentiaries affembled in Form and having fpent five or fix Months in Ceremonies, and Compliments to Cardinal Fleury, as well as Entertainments, Balls, Hunting-Matches and other Diversions, they broke up and returned to their refpective Courts, without fettling any material Point towards the general Pacification, fo long promifed and defired.

Indeed a Project, call'd a Provisional Treaty, was concerted by the Allies of Hanover, and laid before the World last Winter, with pompous OBSERVATIONS upon it; in which the great Wifdom of that Scheme was explained and Hopes were given us that their Imperial and Catholick Majefies would accede to it. But as this Project was far from giving a general Satisfaction at Home, fo neither was it ever accepted by Those Powers Abroad. On the contrary the main Bufinels of the Parliament was no fooner got over, than Affairs feemed again to be tending to a Rupture. The Conferences at Soiffons continued fulpended, and military Preparations were renewed in most Parts of Europe; particularly at SPITHEAD, where a powerful, united Fleet of English and Dutch Ships of War affembled together in a very formidable Figure, as if defigned for fome great Enterprize of the last Importance; but having lain there at Anchor, for the whole Summer, in a very peaceable and hospitable Manner, for the Reception and Entertainment of all Visitors (whole Curiofity to view fo fine a Sight drew them thither from all Parts of the Kingdom) they feparated at laft, without committing one Act of Hoffility, and returned in Safety to their respective Harbours. Thc '

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The Continuance of this pacifick Armada at Spithead, for fo many Months together, hath given some People an Handle to suggest that one of our Allies hath received fome Allurances of Satiffaction for their extraordinary Expense on this. Occation; and that our military Gemins was restrained from any kostile Exploits by the prevailing. Influence of the other. They go farther and alledge that the Dutch Squadron, which join'd ours, was not originally deligned for that Service. They tell us, with great Aflurance, that they were equipped to prevent the Defigns of his Danish Majeity, with Respect to the Altena Company; and that That Affair being made easy for the Prefent, We prevail'd upon them, by our persuasive Influence, to make a Figure with us at Spithead; but that they had no Orders to fail any farther, fuppoling we had been in a fighting Humour, being neither victualled nor otherwise provided for any Expedition ; but I make no Doubt that these Suggestions will be foon proved groundless, in a proper Place, and that the Equipment and Disposition of this Fleet will appear to be wife, prudent and neceffary.

It hath been however our peculiar Misfortune that, during all this Time, whilft our Expenses and Taxes have run very high, our Commerce hath been grievoully interrupted in its most valuable Branches; not only by the continued Depredations of the Spaniards on our Merchants in the West Indies, but likewife by a very strict Embargo, which it was thought expedient to lay, for above Two Months together, on all Ships bound from Jamaica and Virginia, on fome Apprehensions, as it is faid, of a Defect from the Spaniards. I call this a peculiar

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peculiar Misfortune to us, because our Allies have not lain under the fame Difadvantages in their Trade and the Confumption of their Manufactures; but, on the contrary, have reap'd a very great Benefit from our Misfortunes; especially the French; who brought their Sugars, Tobacco, and other American Commodities to a much better Market in Europe, by the Restraint; which was continued so long on our Shipping in those Parts.

But it will be asked, perhaps, why I dwell fo long on this melancholy Side of our Cafe; and do not rather congratulate my Countrymen on that *happy Turn*, which the *Treaty*, lately concluded, hath given to our Affairs? My Anfwer to this is, that I thought it neceflary to take a fhort Review of our Affairs for fome Years back; to confider now these Troubles were brought upon us; what we have fuffered by them; and what kind of Treatment we have already met with; in order to form a right Judgment on our prefent Condition and our future Prospect.

I might also make a Doubt whether the Treaty (lately published by Mr. Buckley) is the genuine Treaty concluded at Seville, because it does not appear to be published by Authority; at least, whether all the Articles are contained in it; which, I confess, seems very improbable, for several Reafons, which I may hereafter mention.

However, I will just take a flort View of it (as it is given us) and fee whether it contains all those good Things, which have been fo often promis'd and we have fo much Reason to expect after all our heavy Loss and extraordinary Expenses. Such Such an Examination is the more necessary at prefent, becaufe the Publication of this Treaty was immediately follow'd, according to annual Cuffont, with ridiculous Observations upon it, calculated to impose upon the World; by firaining it to a Sense, which the Words will not bear, and could not possibly be intended by the contrasting Parties.

But before I examine these Observations, I must beg Leave to make fome Remarks on the Iniroduction to them.

This Method of wiredrawing and refining Treaties, in oppolition to their natural Confirmation and the true Defign of them, hath been too much practifed of late, for certain Purpofes, which are no Secrets to the World; and I confess that it hath always given me a firong Sufpicion of Igability or bad Defigns, when there is any Occasion for Explications and Refinements of this Nature; for as plain Terms are always more ready than anebiguous and æquivocal ones, They will always be preferr'd by Men of Understanding and Integrity, who will never fuffer Themfelves to be impos'd upon, nor endeavour to impose upon their Country by Words, which are liable to eternal Cavils and Disputes.

These anniversary Writers have often put me in Mind of the French Modutebank, mention'd by Mr. Addison, who had always a little Boy running before Him through the Streets of Paris, and crying, my Father cures all Sorts of Distempers; to which the Doctor replied with a grave Voice, The Child speaks Truth—Charlatans in Politicks must have their Zanies nies and Merry-Andrews as well as other Quacks; but as a certain great Doctor hath fent his Children before Him, without any Success, for fome Years past, He hath thought fit, at last, to speak for Himfelf and be the Trumpeter of his own Fame.

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If these Political Commentators could perfuade foreign Princes to understand Treaties in the Sense, which They are pleased to put upon them, it would be a real Service to their Country; but the Case is quite otherwise, and their Explanations have been hitherto constantly difowned by the Powers Abroad, as foon as They have ferved the Purposes, for which they were intended at Home; and this hath often had a double ill Effect; for as it gives us the Character of awkard Tricksters in foreign Courts, fo it always makes us uneasy and diffident at home, when We find ourfelves disappointed and deluded into false Expectations.

This is too evident from what hath been observed upon the Treaties and Conventions before-mention'd; and I wish it may not be verified in the present Treaty and the Comment now before us; upon which I shall take the Liberty of making fome Remarks, without being in the leaft affected with the Scurrility of the Author, who feems to have the Vanity to think that his infolent Reflections and dogmatical Affertions will preclude all farther Examination, and deter others from contradicting what He lays down, He might as well have faid, Pray, Gentlemen, read over these Articles and confess what a glorious Peace I have prosured for you. It is sufficient, Gentlemen, that I (ay it; and if you offer to be of another Opinion, it is a plain Sign that you are no better than Jacobitcs and Papifts in your Hearts.

It feems very extraordinary that this Gentleman fhould think proper to juftify this Treaty, before any Objections had been published against it; for though He is pleas'd to fay that fome People have taken Pains to difcredit it, even before they had feen it; I confess I am at a Loss to guess subom He means. I am fure those Writers, with whom He feems to be fo very angry, have purposely declined any Animadversions upon it, though they might perhaps have been apprized of fome of the Articles, till it was published by Authority; and I hope a Man of his Importance would not condefeend to turn Pamphleteer and waste fo much of his precious Time in answering the private Whifpers of Coffee-bouse Politicians.

His great Officiousness therefore in having the first Word and answering Objections, before they are made, looks as if He was confcious to Himfelf that the Peace was not found at the Bottom, and stood in need of some Explanation to support it. But how hath He attempted to vindicate it? Why, by celebrating his own excellent Conduct and abusing fome particular Gentlemen, whom He is pleased not to like, in so licentions a Manner, that nothing can add to his Vanity and Infolence, but endeavouring, by his Interest in any Place, or in any Manner, to prohibit the same Freedom of writing on the other Side.

I hope that He will have fo much Modelty at leaft, as not to make any fuch Attempt after this; and I think it a very feafonable Opportunity to put the World in mind of the great Ufefulnefs of the Liberty of the Prefs; for if any Refnaint should be laid upon it, by his Means, (and I be-C lieve (18)

heve no other Man will ever attempt it) they cannot expect any Accounts of political Affairs, of any Kind whatfoever, befides fuch partial and feandalous Gloffes as that, which is now before us.

The Observer feems very unhappy, at his first fetting out, in the Description he gives of these Men, who, as he supposes, will find Fault with this. Treaty. He tells us they are like those Wretches that live upon dangerous Coafts, whose Profit arises from Wrecks; who subsist by the Misfortunes and Calamitics of bis Fellow Creatures; and whofe Affliction is confequently an happy Prefage of Calm and Serenity. I fay this Description does not feem to fuit Those, to whom he applies it, fo well. as it does a great, overgrown, wicked Minister, who hath enrich'd himfelf by the Spoils of a Nation; whole Power fublists by the Misfortunes and Calamities of his Fellow Subjects; and whole Downfal would confequently be an happy Omen of the Prosperity of his Country.

He infinuates, afterwards, that the Arguments of these wicked Men, his Opposers, have made no finall Impression at the Court of Madrid. How strange and, at the fame Time, how melancholy a Consideration is it, that such a mean, inconfiderable and despicable Faction, as They have been often represented, should have any Influence in foreign Courts, or be able to give the least Obstruction to Him and his Associates in their wise and notable Negotiations?

He is likewife full of his Apprehensions that the Suggestions of this fame mean and inconsiderable Cabal

bal will have fome Influence on the Counfels of Vienna, and fays We may most certainly expect that They will now apply their whole Skill and Invention to find out fuch Reasons as may best ferve to divert his Imperial Majesty from becoming a Party to these Engagements.

Now, in my humble Opinion, this Work is already done to their Hands by the Observer Himfelf, who hath furnish'd his Imperial Majesty, in this very Pamphlet, with ample Reasons for not acceding to the Treaty, as I shall prefently shew; and, in the mean Time, I will leave the Reader to judge whether charging so great a Prince with Ingratitude and Breach of Faith (as this Writer does by a very strong Implication) is the most probable Method of making Him our Friend.

He cannot forget furely how fuch Ufage, from Him and bis Greatures, upon all Occafions, was refented at Vienna fome Years ago. Nay, He feem'd to be fenfible of it last Winter, and began to fosten his Language towards that Court, and bestow'd the fame Kind of Rhetorick on their Catholick Majefires; but now, it feems, Things have taken another Turn, by his wife and fleady Measures, and the Emperor mult submit to be abused, in the fame Manner, again.

But to return—The Reafons of his Apprehenfions that this little, powerful Cabal of his Adversaries will use all their Interest at the Court of Vienna to divert his Imperial Majesty from acceding to the Treaty, are contained in the following Words. It cannot certainly be expected that the fame Persons who were so much alarmed at the Negotiations, and C 2 appre-

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apprebended fo many ill Confequences to Themfelves from the Conclusion of a Provisional Treaty, should shew lefs Concern and Disappointment upon the News of a folid and lafting Peace; or should be lefs alert and active in their Endeavours to prevent its becoming general.

This is equally candid with that Character, which He gives of those Persons, in the preceding Pages, and equally probable with the reft of his Consequences. How solid and lasting this Peace is like to be, We may judge from his own Observations on the chief Articles of it; but I must first take Notice that Those Persons, who cannot possibly reap any Advantage from the highest Taxes, must be very fond of parting with their Money, it They are less defirous of feeing them diminist d, by a folid and lasting Peace, than fome other Persons, who may heap up farther Riches by them,

I am well appriz'd, from pass Experience, that even exposing the vile Sophistry of this Pamphlet may be called furnishing the EMPEROR with Arguments against acceding to the Treaty and endeavouring to prevent its becoming general. To this I shall only reply, once for all, that it is a Fopick which may be equally urged, at any Time, against any bad Measures or wicked Ministers whatloever; and therefore I am fure that the sensible Part of the World (who do not hold an implicit Faith in Mimisters) will lay no Manner of Stress upon it, let it be repeated and ecchoed back upon us never so often or strongly by this Gentleman and his Associates.

Having made our Way thus far through the Billingfgate Rubbish of his Introduction, We come to the

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the Subfance and Marrow of his Book; and here, perhaps, it will be faid that He does not fight against the Air; fince He begins his Observations with taking Notice of some false Infinuations, which these fame wicked Perions have already let fall with Regard to this Treaty, which they could not, fays He, at that Time have possibly seen and of the Contents of which they would persuade us, that the Directors of a Company, extremely interested in the Consequences of this Treaty, were equally ignorant; though those Directors had seen and approved them.

Can any Thing be more ridiculous than this Paragraph, which carries along with it a full Anfwer to the Charge it contains? For who could possibly apprehend that these Directors had feen the Contents of the Treaty, at that Time; or were not equally ignorant of them with all other Englishmen, who are equally interested, at least, in the Consequences of it? Who could imagine (till this worthy Gentleman was pleased to inform us of it) that the Managers of a monied Corporation should be more favoured than all the rest of his Majesty's Landed and Trading Subjects; or even than the whole Body of the Proprietors of this Company itself, in whose Name They expressed their Approbation of it?

We all know in what Manner fuch Things are often carried; and if it fhould appear that this Obfequious/nefs to Ministerial Purposes was drawn from them by the indirect Methods of any of their Managers, without having the fame Knowledge communicated to them, We hope They will flow their Resentment of it at the enfuing Election of Directors, and not fuffer themselves to be led by any Men, (22)

Men, who make a Property of them upon every Occalion.

It bath likewise been hinted, quoth the Observer, that the securing of the Succession of Don Carlos in Italy, by Spanish Garrisons (which makes one of the principal Stipulations of the new Treaty) is a Step that may prove dangerous to the Peace of Europe; and that the Emperor, in particular, is obliged in Interest to prevent its taking Effect.

In the first Place, I appeal to the World who were the first that not only hinted but expatiated very largely on the Danger, which Europe had Reafon to apprehend from the Profpects and growing Grandeur of Don Carlos? Did not the Author of the Enquiry begin it three Years ago; and was it not very strenuously infisted upon last Winter, by this very Writer bimself, and, his Advocates, that this Succession, upon any Terms, was ab-folutely contrary to the Interest of all Europe and particularly to that of Great Britain? But fince he hath now thought fit to alter bis Note, for swife and fleady Reafons, to far as even to affirm that instead of being contrary to the Interests of all Europe, there can be no folid Objection made to it; and fince the Succession of Don Carlos in Italy is made one of the principal Stipulations. in the new Treaty (as He, for once, very jufty observes) I will give this Affair a particular Examination.

I shall not fay any Thing, in this Place, concerning the Equity of disposing of *Dominions*, to which we cannot pretend any fort of *Right*; because it may feem ridiculous to turn *Moralist* and discuss discuss a Point of Cafuifiry, where Politicks are concerned.

(23)

Befiles, the Observer hath told us that whatever Objections might be made to this Succession, it is already consented to and established by the Quadruple Alliance; though if it should be allowed to be bad it felf, I do not see how this will mend it, or that one false Step is any Justification of another; especially if it could be avoided; and I shall leave it to this nice Distinguisher to shew any Reason why we could not depart from one Point of the Quadruple Alliance as well as another; or whether indeed the whole of it is not vacated by this Contravention; especially as far as it relates to Don Carlos, and the Emperor.

However, I will confider this Affair in a political View only and as it relates to the Quadruple Allyance; by which it was flipulated that the Dutchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, in Cafe the present Dukes should dye without Issue Male, thould defcend to the eldest Son of her Catholick Majefty and his Heirs Male. It was likewife stipulated by that Treaty that those Dominions should never be in the Possession of any Prince, who shall at the fame time be K. of Spain; that no King of Spain shall ever take upon Himfelf the Guardianship of fuch Prince; and farther that, during the Lives of the present Posses of those Dominions, neither the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Spain, or the Prince, before nominated to that Succession, shall be permitted to introduce any Troops of their own Nation, or of any other Nation in their Pay, into those Dominions, nor to put any Garrisons into any of the Towns?

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Towns, Ports, Citadels or Fortreffes belonging to them; but that for fecuring this eventual Succession, upon the Demife of the present Posses, the principal Places of those Dominions should be garrison'd with a Body of Swiss Forces, not exceeding fix thousand Men, to be paid by Germany, France and Great Britain in equal Proportions; or that if the Swiss Cantons could not conveniently raise such a Number of Troops soon enough for that Service, His Britannick Majesty was to furnish them, with the Consent of the other contracting Parties, till the Swiss Troops could be raised and take Possession of those Places.

Whereas it is flipulated by the present Treaty, That the introducing of Garrisons into the Places of Leghorn, Porto-serraio, Parma and Placentia, to the Number of fix thousand Men of his Ca-THOLICK MAJESTY'S TROOPS, and in HIS PAY, Chall be EFFECTUATED WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME.

The Observer spends several Pages in justifying this Stipulation in Favour of Don Carlos, and pronounces the Court of Vienna to be very ill advised, and very unjust or unreasonable, if they refuse to accede to the Treaty of Seville on Account of this Variation from the Quadruple Alliance, by the Introduction of Spanish, instead of Swiss Garrisons, into the fortified Places of Tuscany and Parma.

Though I am not one of *Thole*, whom our great Author hath represented to averse to the general Tranquility of Europe as to suggest Arguments, which may prevent its taking Effect; yet I must beg Leave to express my own ApproApprehensions, that his Imperial Majesty may think it somewhat derogatory to his Honour, to permit the Succession to so considerable a Fies of the Empire, to be disposed of, not only without his Consent, and, in the Manner of it, contrary to a solemn Treaty, of which he was a principal Party; but likewise with an Air of Triumpb over him, and, as an Expedient to dissolve an Alliance which hath been represented fo advantageous to him.

His fuffering himfelf to be difunited from fo beneficial an Alliance, rather than come into this Project, is likewife an Argument to me, that he thought it contrary to his Intereft.

But as this Introduction of Spanish Troops is to be EFFECTUATED without Loss of Time, let us confider how far this Variation from the Quadruple Alliance may affect Great Britain, and the general Tranquillity of Europe, proposed to be eftablished by this Treaty.

I think it is allowed by this Writer and his Advocates, as well as others, that our prefent Circumstances require a (peedy and (olid Peace; but I am afraid it will be found, that this Variation is very far from tending to facilitate that good End; for however averie the present Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, and all the Italian Princes, might be to have their Dominions difposed of in this Manner, even after their Death; yet they might, perhaps, think fit quietly to fubmit to it, upon the Terms of the Quadruple Alliance, when they faw all the chief Powers of Europe concurring in a Refolution to that Purpose; but when these Terms are varied from Neutral to Spanish Troops, contrary to the Inclination of one of the contracting Parties, they will certainly endeavour to oppose it; and I confess this Variation does

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not seem immaterial to *Ibem*, for the following Reasons;

First, The prefent Dukes might think their Persons to be faser, whild their Towns were garrison'd by Forces, which would not join in any Violence upon them, without the Concurrence of three neutral Kings, who had no Reason to be so impatient for the speedy Accession of Don Carlos, as their Catholick Majesties seem to be.

Secondly, Neutral Garrifons would certainly lie under a lefs Temptation to meddle, directly or indirectly, in Affairs of the Political, Oeconomical and Civil Government.

If therefore, for these, or any other Reasons, the present Possession found refuse Admittance to the Spanifly Troops; and his Imperial Majefty, upon their Application, should think fit to affift them in it, either for just or unjust Reasons; I leave the World to judge, whether this Treaty hath procured us that only good End of all our late tedious Negotiations, which we have fo long defired, and hath been to often promifed us; I mean a general and lasting Peace; for if we must be involved in a War (as this Writer feems to prognosticate) it matters but little with what Prince it begins; and I must put him in Mind, that though a Peace with Spain may be more advantageous to a Trading Nation than a Peace with the Emperor; yet a War with the Emperor would be, for the fame Reafon, more burthenfome and impracticable to a Maritime Power, than a War with Spain.

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I have heard it often alledged in Conversation, that it is not in the Power of his Imperial Majefty to prevent the Execution of this Treaty; but this Allegation has been fufficiently confuted by the Author of the Enquiry, who told us, that the Emperor alone was capable of disturbing it, as well as by the Affertion of the Writer before us, who fays, That bad that Succession been left open, all Italy, confidering the Strength and Influence of those Dominions, which the Emperor bath already got Possession of in that Country, must in all Probability bave fallen into bis Hands; or at least into such Hands, as must have bad an entire Dependance on him. In another Place he fays, That the Emperor can be under no Apprebensions of Danger on this Head baving constantly in the Neighbourbood of those Garrisons, a Number of Troops more than sufficient to awe and check them, should they offer to exceed the Bounds prescribed them.

My Inference from this is, That if his Imperial Majefty hath fuch an Influence in Italy, that he could have posses'd himself of these Dutchies, in opposition to all the Italian Princes, in cafe this Succession bad been left open; or is even ftrong enough to awe and check these Troops, when put in pollesion of the fortified Towns; he may certainly give a great Opposition to their Admittance, when joined with the Wealth and Power of the two Dukes, and perhaps of fome other Italian Princes; fo that it is not now the only Question, Whether this Variation will make that Engagement more effettual or not. It is likewife a Question, Whether fuch a Violence upon those Princes, as to put them and their Dominions under the Power of Spanily Troops, may not fpirit up an Opposition to it. If neutral Troops were to be put in Garrifon, the Engagement would have been equally effectual; more D 2 confiftent.

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confistent, perhaps, with his Imperial Majefty's Honour; and, without Doubt, less difagreeable to the present Posses.

The Observer advances another Argument in Defence of this Variation, which he seems to think an undeniable Reason for our confenting to it; and that is, that it frees us from an Engagement we were before under, of paying one third Part of the Expence, which would have been requisite for maintaining neutral Garrisons in the Dutchies of Tuscany and Parma.

I am glad to see any Appearances, in this Gentleman, of frugal Defigns; but I doubt This may prove the Occasion of much more Expence; for if it should happen to be the Case, that neutral Garrisons might have been amicably admitted; and that Spanish Troops will be opposed, we may lie under a Necessity of maintaining above seven times that Number of Men in Germany.

And yet this frugal Scheme worked fo ftrongly upon him, that he fays any Minister would bave deferved the feverest Puniskment, who should have advised the King to have deferred, for one Month only, the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of Spain, for the sake of THIS ALTE-RATION; though it may be the Means of involving us in a War, instead of procuring us a general and lasting Peace; but I can easily see the Reason which might induce a Minister not to defer it, for one Month only; especially towards the Conclusion of the Tear.

Thus ftands the Cafe of this Variation from the Quadruple Alliance, with Regard to the Emperor and the prefent Dukes of *Iu/cany* and Parma. Let us now confider how it ftands with Relation to Spain.

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By this Treaty we have flipulated not only to EFFECTUATE the Introduction of Spanish Troops, but likewise to establish this Succession and guaranty it, for ever, against any Opposition, in such Manner that thereby it may rest secure and exempt from all Events.

If therefore the Emperor, in Conjunction with the Italian Princes, or any other Powers, fhould think fit to oppofe it, we cannot avoid entering into a War with Him and his Allies; and if we should happen to fail of Success by coercive Methods, after perhaps a great Number of expensive Campaigns, the Spaniards might complain of the Non-execution of the Treaty, in one of its most important Articles, and vacate the whole, upon plaufible Allegations that however we might have attempted, we had not, according to the Tenor of the Treaty, EFFECTED the Introduction of Dom Carlos into Italy.

It is likewise very observable that there is no Provision in this Treaty, as there was in the Quadruple Alliance, to prevent the Conjunction of these Dominions, upon any Contingency, with the Crown of Spain.

And here, I think, I have much better Grounds than the Author of the Enquiry had, to affert that there must be fome fecret Treaty, befides That which is made publick; for though it is flipulated that the Introduction of Spanish Troops into Italy, for fecuring the Succeffion of Don Carlos, shall be effectuated without Loss of Time; yet no Provision is made in what Manner, and at whose Expence, they are to be carried thither.

This is one Reafon, amongst many others, which induces me to believe that there are fome *fecret* Articles not yet produced; especially, fince we have lately heard Distinctions made by this Gen-

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tleman himfelf, between a pablick, OSTENSIBLE Treaty (as He phrased it) and a private Treaty, kept in Referve. This puts me in mind of the exoterisal and esoterical Doctrines of the antient Philosophers; the former of which they propagated amongst the Vulgar, and kept the latter for learned Men only, and private Conversation amongst themselves. I am apt to believe that our modern Statessmen have built upon this Foundation, and borrowed their Method of Negotiating from the Principles of these Phosophers; fince upon examining most of our late Treaties, we shall find very few, which are not restrained by some private or esterical Articles.

Since therefore fuch liberal Concessions have been made to Spain, let us next enquire what Advantages are granted in Return to Great Britain, with regard to our Trade and Possess, which have been under Dispute.

Our Author tells us, That all former Treaties and Conventions being confirmed by the first Article, we have a very full Acknowledgment, on the Part of Spain, of our Right to Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca; but as the Pretensions of the Spaniards to the former, have been founded on the Convention at Madrid in the Year 1721, fome People may be apprehensive that they will renew that Claim, upon a proper Occasion, fince this Convention is confirmed, as well as any other, by that Article.

We must therefore, in fuch a Case, rely upon the fesond Article, wherein the King of Spain guaranties all his Majesty's Kingdoms, States and Dominions; and I hope, with our Author, that Gibraltar is fecured to us, under one of these Denominations, beyond all possibility of Doubt er Cavil; but I think I may fafely accept of his Defiance, to show in in what manner they could be more effectually fecured; which they most undoubtedly would have been, either by a specifick Renuntiation of all Right and Pretensions to them for the future; or. by using his own Terms, foreign Acquisitions or Posseffions. I mention the Term Posseffions, becaufe our Ministers seemed to be sensible of the Comprebensiveness of it, by inferting it in the Treaty of Hanover; and the making use of it in the Articles of Seville, would have contained a full Acknowledgment of our Right to those Places; and if the Spaniards had a fincere Intention to confirm that Right, they would have fuffered it to be exprefied in Terms as clear as those in favour of Don If they were not fincere, but had fome Carlos. Referve, I am afraid that a different Construction of fo important an Article will render the Peace lefs folid and lasting than the Observer promises, and every good Englishman hath Reason to wish.

The other Point, which concerns us, relates to the re-establishment of our just Privileges in Commerce, and the Compensation due to our Merchants for their Sufferings during the Rupture; which are left to be fettled by Commission of both Nations, who are to assemble at the Court of Spain, and to finish their Enquiries within the Space of three Tears.

There feems to be fome room for three Objetti-

First, As to the Place; which fome People may think would have been more properly fixed at London, where our Merchants, for whose Relief this Commission was principally intended, could with much less Trouble and Expense have produced the authentick Proofs and Vouchers for their Losfes, and reply to any Objections that may be made to their Demands.

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The next is with refpect to the Condition, upon which this Compensation is to be made; and that is, that the Ships, Merchandize and Effects shall not have been taken or feized upon account of unlawful Commerce, without specifying or explaining what shall be deem'd unlawful Commerce; which hath ever administred Matter of Dispute between the Spaniards and the English.

The third Objection is to the Length of Time affigned to this Enquiry; which I find fome Merchants apprehend may, in a great Measure, invalidate that Stipulation; for the Spanish Ministers cannot be ignorant of the Italian Proverb, Chi guadagua Tempo, guadagua Toutto; He that gains Time, gains every Thing.

These Commissions are likewise to discuss and decide his Catholick Majesty's Pretensions to the Restitution of the Ships taken in the Mediterramean, in the Year 1718; an Article, which may be so cast up by Spanish Accomptants, as to overbalance the Account of the British Merchants, by several Hundred Thousand Pounds.

The Observer tells us, That there was the les Pretence for declining this Discuffion, because we were fure it would, upon Examination appear, that it was the Fault of the Spaniards only, that those Ships were not put into their Poffeffion; from whence he would infer, that they cannot expect any Satisfaction for them; though he tells us himfelf, that at the Time those Ships were offer'd to be delivered at Port-Mabon, they were in fuch a decay'd Condition, that, upon the Refufal of the Spaniards to accept of them, they were, by the Order of the Governor, funk in the main Sea. It is therefore reafonable to prefume, that they will expect Reparation for them; or why should they have infifted on a Stipulation to that Purpose?

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The Observer farther fays, that the Spaniards found their Claim to this Restitution upon the Treaty of 1721; the very same Treaty, upon which they likewife found their Pretenfions to Gibraltar; the very fame Treaty which we con-cluded privately at Madrid, whilft we were Mediators between that Court and Vienna.

As this Convention therefore of 1721 (which. perhaps, it were to be wished had never been made) is confirmed by the first Article of the present Treaty, I do not fee why the Spaniards may not infift upon the Reflitution of Gibraltar. by Vertue of this Treaty (if there is any fuch private Article in it, as they alledge) as well as the Reftitution of Ships taken in the Mediterramean; unlefs it be allow'd, that this Article, with Regard to the Cafe of Gibraltar, is derogated from, in the fecond Article, under the Words, Kingdoms, States and Dominions, which I hope will occasion no future Di/pute.

I had almost forgot to take Notice of one Article, which I confess I was somewhat surprized to find in the Treaty, or at least express'd in that manner; I mean the third, where it is faid, that the MINISTERS of his Britannick. and Mof Christian Majesties, having PRETENDED (as it is in the Original) that the Treaties of Vienna. between his Imperial Majesty and the King of Spain, contain'd an Infraction of the Treaties of Commerce, antecedent to the Year 1725; his Catbolick Majesty declares, as he had before de-That be never bad any sucu clared. MEANING. I fay, I was fomewhat furprized to fee an Article expressed in tbis Manner; because it may be construed into a Reflection on the Understanding or Integrity of fome Perfous of great Importance; and confidering E

ng the CORDIALITY with which his Cathoick Majesty entered into this Treaty, I cannot doubt that he would have suffered this Article to be worded in other Terms.

Whether the *Treaty*, lately concluded at Seville, be juft, bonourable and advantageous or not; I must leave the World to judge whether this Observer hath proved it to be fo; but I am very ready to agree with him in acknowledging his Majesity's Goodness to us, and that the Interests of Great Britain bath the chief Place in his Thoughts.

I know very little of the Disputes between bis Majesty and the King of Prassia; but if that Prince hath forcibly taken away any of his Majesty's German Subjects, he hath certainly a just Right to Reprisals; as I think our Merchants had for the Ships unlawfully taken from them by the Spaniards.

Neither do I know of any Britons, who now look upon the King of Pruffia as their Hero, and could not formerly prevail upon themfelves to treat him with common Decency; but I remember very well that fome Men, who now fet him forth as a weak, inconfiderable Prince, reprefented him, about four Tears ago, as a very potent and profitable Ally.

I am as much at a Lofs as this Author, to fee how it can be the Duty of any Englishman to encourage Foreign Powers to invade the King's German Dominions, and to excite the Neighbouring Princes to oppre/s a People, meerly because they acknowledge the fame Sovereign that we do. I fcorn, as much as be, to represent that Country barren and despicable; though I cannot help thinking the British Dominions much more confiderable, both to bis Majesty and us, and deserving the first Place in our Thoughts. Thoughts. The former hath certainly the common Claim of all Protestant Nations to our Favour and good Wishes; but how far we are obliged, under the Name of Protection, to engage our selves in a War upon that Account, I must leave to the Decision of the Act of Settlement, and to that Way of thinking upon it (as our Author expresses himfelf) in which the Parliament shall declare themselves to be.

I cannot conclude, without taking Notice of the Difingenuity of this Writer, in putting Cafes and preffing Arguments of a very high and perfonal Nature, which cannot be answered without fuch a free Examination, as may be thought improper and difre/pettful. The Words of the late Earl of Hallifax, when Minister of State, upon a Subject of this Kind, are very candid and applicable to the prefent Occasion; viz. That it is not just to prefs an Argument, which puts another Man in Pain when he goes to answer it.

But this hath been the conftant mean Artifice of our Author and his Advocates. When we offer to argue with them, Their Caufe is always the King's Caufe, and their Meafures must be the King's Meafures; which is fometimes true, in one Senfe, as they are carried on by his Authority, and in his Name; but I must beg Leave to infist upon it, that Ministers, by the Constitution of this Nation, are answerable for all their Meafures, though transacted by the King's Authority; and that they ought to be punished for bad Treaties, though concluded under His Royal Santtion.

I hope I have preferved a proper Decency of Language throughout thefe Sheets; but if I fhould be thought to have let fall fome Expreffions with too much Warmth, they ought to be imputed to that Virulence Virulence of Style and Manner, with which our Author hath thought fit to treat this Subject.

When the Reader confiders how very lately the Treaty and Observations were published, he will conclude, that these Thaughts upon them must be very fudden, and thrown together without any Order or Method. I need not therefore ask his Indulgence for any Inaccuracies of Style, or little Mistakes, as to the Reasoning or Fatts, which I may have unwarily fallen into, and faall be ready to acknowledge upon Conviction.

I thought fome immediate Antidote necessary to expel the Poison, which it was the Defign of this Pamphlet to foread through the Kingdom. This was the Occasion of my writing in fo much Haste; and I make no Doubt that the subject will be foon treated by a much more able and masterly Hand.

FINIS.

